

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SS-15
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-----061955Z 076227 /43

O R 061756Z FEB 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2311

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 7 USUN 0339

LAGOS AND DAR ES SALAAM PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP
SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE ARTICLE ON AMB. YOUNG

1. SUMMARY. COVER STORY ON AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN NEW YORK
TIMES MAGAZINE SECTION FEB. 5. HANDSOME COLOR PHOTO
OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN WINTER COAT IN SNOWSTORM AND
BRIEFCASE UNDER ARM ON COVER WITH HEADING QUOTE NEW STYLE
AT THE U.N. UNQUOTE. INSIDE STORY BY JOSEPH LELYVELD
ENTITLED QUOTE OUR NEW VOICE AT THE U.N. UNQUOTE. SUBHEADS
READ QUOTE INSTEAD OF FACING DOWN THE THIRD WORLD LIKE
MOYNIHAN, HE WANTS TO PUT THE U.S. ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF
THE MORAL ISSUE UNQUOTE AND QUOTE HE WILL OPPOSE THE
BOMBASTIC, THE MILITANT GESTURE.... BUT HE WILL PRESS
FOR FUNDAMENTAL WORLD CHANGES -- IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,
ESPECIALLY UNQUOTE PHOTO OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG WITH STONEY
COOKS IN BACKGROUND BEING GREETED BY SECRETARY-GENERAL
WALDHEIM ON FIRST PAGE OF ARTICLE. OTHER PHOTOS OF
AMBASSADOR YOUNG AT HIS DESK IN WASHINGTON, WITH
JULIAN BOND, AND WITH MARTIN LUTHER KING IN MISSISSIPPI IN
1966. END SUMMARY.

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2. TEXT FOLLOWS: ON APRIL 15, 1967, WHEN HAD HAD LESS THAN
A YEAR TO LIVE, MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. LED IN A HUGE ANTIWAR
DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE UNITED NATIONS BUILDING.
THE SETTING MADE A THEMATIC POINT: THAT THE ESCALATING
BOMBARDMENT OF NORTH VIETNAM FLOUTED THE U.N. CHARTER. FOR
KING, WHO HAD BEEN AGONIZING OVER HIS PROPER ROLE IN THE
PEACE MOVEMENT, THE DEMONSTRATION WAS FULL OF HAZARDS:

IT INVOLVED HIM IN A MOMENTARY ALLIANCE WITH ANGRY RADICALS WHO SAW THE WAR AS AN ULTIMATE EXPRESSION OF AMERICAN WICKEDNESS. KING SAW IT AS A DETOUR, A REGRESSION EVEN A SICKNESS, BUT HE DID NOT WANT HIS PROTEST TO BE CONSTRUED AS ANTI-AMERICAN. SO HE TURNED TO THE MOST EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATOR IN HIS ENTOURAGE, THE REV. ANDREW YOUNG. WORKING QUIETLY BEHIND THE SCENES, THE YOUTHFUL CONGREGATIONALIST MINISTER SET THE TERMS FOR KING'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROTEST, MAKING SURE VIETCONG FLAGS WOULD BE KEPT AT A DISTANCE AND RADICAL RHETORIC RESTRAINED. THE PROTEST, HE INSISTED, HAD TO APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY'S BETTER INSTINCTS.

NOW, NOT QUITE A DECADE LATER, ANDREW YOUNG HAS RETURNED TO THE U.N. TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE AMERICAN MISSION THERE. IN 1967, NO ONE WOULD HAVE DREAMED THAT AN ORGANIZER OF THAT DEMONSTRATION MIGHT TURN UP IN SUCH A ROLE. BUT NOW, WHEN HISTORY SEEMS TO HAVE SANCTIFIED THE PROTEST AND ITS CAREFULLY GAUGED MODERATION IS EASY TO DISCERN, IT TAKES AN ACT OF IMAGINATION TO REALIZE HOW OUT OF THE ORDINARY YOUNG'S APPOINTMENT REALLY IS. THE FACT THAT HE'S THE FIRST AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N. WHOSE CURRICULUM VITAE INCLUDES A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION THERE AGAINST HIS OWN GOVERNMENT TELLS MORE, FINALLY, THAN THE FACTS ABOUT ANDREW YOUNG THAT ARE USUALLY STRESSED: THAT HE IS THE FIRST BLACK IN THE JOB AND THE ONLY PERSON IN AMERICA TO WHOM THE NEW PRESIDENT HAS OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGED A POLITICAL DEBT.

IN YOUNG'S MIND, THERE IS VITAL CONNECTION AND SYMMETRY BETWEEN 1967 AND NOW: KING, HE SAYS, WAS TAKING THE CIVIL-
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RIGHTS MOVEMENT WHERE IT HAD TO GO, INTO POLITICS; HIS OWN REMARKABLE CAREER IN POLITICS, HE BELIEVES, HAS BEEN A LOGICAL WORKING OUT OF A COURSE THAT HAD BEEN SET BEFORE KING DIED. AS HE SHOWED LAST YEAR, WHEN HE DID MORE THAN ANY OTHER INDIVIDUAL EXCEPT JIMMY CARTER TO PUT JIMMY CARTER IN THE WHITE HOUSE, YOUNG IS A COOL AND PRAGMATIC POLITICIAN WITH A FAR-FLUNG NETWORK OF CONTACTS AND A QUARTERBACK'S SENSE OF TIMING. BUT ALL THIS, HIS INSTINCTS AND HIS CONTACTS, CAN BE TRACED TO HIS DAYS IN THE MOVEMENT. HAD HE BEEN HUNGRIER FOR POWER, HE MIGHT WELL HAVE CLAIMED A POSITION OF GREATER LEVERAGE IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION THAN THAT OF AMERICAN PROCONSUL IN TURTLE BAY. OVERSHELMINGLY, HIS FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS, WHO CHERISH HIM AS FEW POLITICAL FIGURES ARE CHERISHED, FELT HE WAS MAKING A TERRIBLE MISTAKE IN LEAVING WASHINGTON AT JUST THE POINT WHEN HE MIGHT CONFIDENTLY HAVE EXPECTED TO WIELD MORE INFLUENCE THAN ANY BLACK MAN EVER HAD THERE. BUT YOUNG, WHO WILL BE 45 NEXT MONTH, IS SOMETHING OF A POLITICAL GAMBLER. HE IS, ALSO, MORE A PREACHER AND MORALIST THAN AN INSIDER AND BACKROOM

DEALER. HE COULD NOT EASILY EXPLAIN IT WITHOUT SOUNDING A BIT MYSTICAL, BUT THE U.N, SEEMED TO OFFER A FULFILLMENT THAT WAS MORE THAN PERSONAL, A SENSE THAT HE WAS HELPING TO RESTORE A HOPE THAT WAS BLASTED OUT OF AMERICAN LIFE IN THE AWFUL SPRING OF 1968.

I GOT A GLIMPSE OF THIS THE MORNING THAT WORD OF YOUNG'S APPOINTMENT HIT THE NEWSPAPERS, WHEN I ASKED HIM WHAT HE THOUGHT HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN DOING NOW HAD DR. KING LIVED. HE ANSWERED OBLIQUELY BY SAYING WHAT HE THOUGHT KING MIGHT HAVE DONE, IMPLYING THAT HE WOULD HAVE STAYED AT KING'S SIDE. "HE'D BE DOING SOMETHING LIKE THIS," YOUNG SAID WITH SUDDEN EMPHASIS, "ONLY HE WOULD HAVE DONE IT EARLIER. HE WOULD HAVE BEEN THERE IN 1969, HAD HE NOT BEEN KILLED AND ROBERT KENNEDY NOT BEEN KILLED."

PERHAPS, AS ONE OF HIS FRIENDS LATER COMMENTED, HE WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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MERELY "PROJECTING." BUT HE WAS ALSO DEFINING HIMSELF. SINCE HENRY CABOT LODGE, WHO WAS OWED A POLITICAL DEBT BY DWIGHT EISENHOWER THAT WAS ROUGHLY ANALOGOUS TO THE ONE CARTER OWES YOUNG, REPRESENTATIVES TO THE U.N. WHO LACKED EASY ACCESS TO THE WHITE HOUSE HAVE BEEN THE EXCEPTION, NOT THE RULE. A REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.N. WHO HAS DEVOTED HIS LIFE TO PROMOTING SOCIAL CHANGE IS, BY CONTRAST, TRULY EXCEPTIONAL. THE NEGOTIATING SKILLS THAT WILL NOW BE EMPLOYED IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS WERE ACQUIRED OVER A DECADE OF STRUGGLE IN PLACES LIKE ALBANY, GA. (NOW KNOWN FOR ITS PROPINQUITY TO PLAINS), ST. AUGUSTINE, BIRMINGHAM, SELMA, MEMPHIS AND CHARLESTON. PEOPLE LIKE ANDREW YOUNG WERE CALLED "ACTIVISTS." THE WORD DOESN'T ADEQUATELY DESCRIBE WHAT HE WAS THEN OR WHAT HE HAS BECOME BUT IT CAN'T BE LEFT OUT OF THE ACCOUNT.

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NSC-05 PRS-01 PA-02 AF-08 SP-02 INR-07 CIAE-00 /054 W

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O R 061756Z FEB 77

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

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LAGOS AND DAR ES SALAAM PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR YOUNG

AN ACTIVIST STILL, HE COMES TO HIS NEW JOB WITH LARGE AMBITIONS. THAT MEANS HE'S ALL THE MORE LIKELY TO BE FRUSTRATED, ODDSMAKERS IN THE DIPLOMATIC GAME WOULD SAY. YOUNG TALKS OF REDEEMING THE UNITED STATES AT THE U.N. AND THE U.N. IN THE UNITED STATES, OF PUTTING THE UNITED STATES ON "THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE MORAL ISSUES IN THE WORLD," OF RESTORING THE "MORAL POWER" IT LOST IN VIETNAM. IN PRACTICE, THIS IS LIKELY TO PUT HIM AT THE OPPOSITE POLE FROM DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, WHO WANTED TO FACE DOWN THE THIRD WORLD WITH SUPERIOR ARGUMENTS, TO DISH OUT MORAL INDIGNATION RATHER THAN TAKE IT. MOYNIHAN, YOUNG SAYS, WAS GOOD FOR AMERICAN EGOS THE WAY STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND OTHER "BLACK POWER" PROPONENTS OF THE 60'S WERE GOOD FOR BLACK EGOS. BUT MOYNIHAN'S RHETORIC, LIKE THEIRS, YOUNG BELIEVES, HAD "FAIRLY DISASTROUS RESULTS."

HIS OWN PRESCRIPTION FOR RESTORING THE "MORAL POWER" OF THE UNITED STATES IS TO MOVE "AGGRESSIVELY" TO A PLAN FOR MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA-A TALL ORDER, BY ANY RECKONING. YOUNG WAS IN SOUTH AFRICA AT THE START OF DECEMBER WHEN HE MADE UP HIS MIND, HE SAYS, THAT HE COULD NOT TURN DOWN THE U.N. POST IF IT WAS OFFERED, AND HE PLANNED UNCLASSIFIED

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TO RETURN TO AFRICA AS ONE OF HIS FIRST OFFICIAL ACTS. HIS SENSE OF CONNECTION AND COMMITMENT HARDLY NEEDS SPELLING OUT: IT'S NOT JUST THE ISSUE OF RACIAL JUSTICE THAT GRIPS HIM BUT THE TEMPTATION TO SEE A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE SEGREGATED SOUTH IN WHICH HE GREW UP. SOUTH AFRICA INSPIRES IN HIM A SENSE OF "AWFUL FAMILIARITY."

IF MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA WERE REALLY TO BECOME A POLICY OBJECTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES-AS OPPOSED TO AN INNOCUOUS PRINCIPLE TO WHICH WE ARE WILLING, ON OCCASION, TO SUBSCRIBE-A SEISMIC SHIFT WOULD HAVE OCCURRED. IT WAS NEVER HIGH-NOR, SO FAR AS ANYONE CAN TELL, LOW-ON HENRY KISSINGER'S LIST OF THINGS THAT NEEDED TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE WORLD. YOUNG KNOWS ABOUT WHITE SOUTH AFRICA'S POTENTIAL FOR RESISTANCE BUT CLASSES IT WITH THE WHITE

RESISTANCE ON WHICH HE CAN LEGITIMATELY CLAIM TO BE AN EXPERT. AN INVINCIBLE OPTIMIST, HE CONTENTS THAT MAJORITY RULE CAN BE ACHIEVED IN SOUTH AFRICA BY MODERATE, NON-VIOLENT MEANS AND THAT, AS A DIVIDEND FOR TRYING, THE UNITED STATES CAN PICK UP CREDITS IN THE THIRD WORLD THAT IT CAN CASH IN FOR SUPPORT ON ENERGY ISSUES AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

INEVITABLY, HE RUNS INTO SKEPTICISM. IT'S NOT AS EASY AS IT ONCE WAS TO BELIEVE IN THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROMOTE BENEVOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE IN DISTANT LANDS. THE SAME GOES FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. IT'S NOT JUST FASHIONABLE BUT CUSTOMARY BY NOW TO DISMISS THE U.N. AS A WORD FACTORY, A DIPLOMATIC HOTHOUSE OR, IN A MEMORABLE MOYNIHANISM, A THEATER OF THE ABSURD. MOREOVER, TILL NOW, AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES THERE WHO CARRIED THEIR OWN AGENDAS TO THE JOB HAVE ALWAYS LEFT IT DISILLUSIONED AND FEELING ILL-USED. YOUNG IS MODEST AND MILD IN MANNER, A REASONABLE MAN OF MEASURED OPINIONS WHO HAS NEVER BEEN ONE FOR SELF-PROMOTION. STILL, HE IS DRIVEN. HE THINKS HE CAN BE AN EXCEPTION IN HIS NEW PULPIT, AN ADVOCATE AND SHAPER,

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AS WELL AS AN ENUNCIATOR, OR POLICY.

WHEN YOU THINK OF DR. KING, THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA, YOUNG'S APPOINTMENT HAS AN UNDENIABLE RESONANCE. BUT DID JIMMY CARTER REALLY MEAN FOR US TO HEAR ALL THOSE NOTES WHEN HE MADE THE APPOINTMENT? OR DID HE INTEND LITTLE MORE THAN THE PAYMENT OF HIS ACKNOWLEDGED DEBT WITH THE ONLY ADMINISTRATION JOB IN WHICH YOUNG HAD EVER EXPRESSED AN INTEREST? TO SOME ADMIRERS (YOUNG SEEMS TO HAVE NO ENEMIES) HIS APPOINTMENT-AND THE WHOLE CARTER CABINET-CONFIRM THE ONLY CRITICISMS THAT ARE EVER HEARD OF ANDY YOUNG AMONG BLACKS: THAT HE'S TOO SOFT, TOO TRUSTING. IT'S ONLY TOO OBVIOUS THAT HE DIDN'T EXERT MUCH INFLUENCE ON THE SELECTION OF THE CABINET, SO THE ARGUMENT GOES; HOW THEN CAN HE EXPECT TO INFLUENCE POLICY FROM NEW YORK?

"I CAN'T IMAGINE ANDY GOING TO THE U.N. TO SUCCEED PEARL BAILEY," CRACKED JULIAN BOND, THE GEORGIA STATE SENATOR WHO THREW HIMSELF IN THE PATH OF THE CARTER BANDWAGON LAST SPRING WHEN HE CAMPAIGNED FOR MORRIS UDALL. "IT'S TERRIBLE." HOSEA WILLIAMS, ANOTHER OF KING'S LIEUTENANTS NOW IN POLITICS, CALLED

THE U.N. APPOINTMENT A "POLITICAL KIDNAPPING" ENGINEERED "BY ATLANTA'S WHITE POWER STRUCTURE TO RETAKE POLITICAL CONTROL OF ATLANTA." A MEMBER OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS EXPRESSED THE WIDELY FELT LOSS IN MORE PERSONAL TERMS. BLACK POLITICIANS WANTED YOUNG AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO CARTER,

HE ACKNOWLEDGED, BECAUSE THEY SAW HIM AS THEIR OWN CHANNEL TO THE WHITE HOUSE. "I'D BEEN LOOKING FORWARD TO BUTTON-HOLING ANDY IN THE CORRIDORS OF CONGRESS," HE COMMENTED RUEFULLY.

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O R 061756Z FEB 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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LAGOS AND DAR ES SALAAM PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR YOUNG

YOUNG HAD ALWAYS SAID HE WOULD NOT BE "THE WHITE HOUSE NIGGER" IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, THAT HE HAD NOT BARTERED HIS SUPPORT IN EXCHANGE FOR A LIST OF PROMISES. HE DOESN'T BADGER CARTER, YOUNG SAID ONE EVENING, "BECAUSE I KNOW HOW PEOPLE USED TO BADGER DR. KING AND I KNOW HOW QUICKLY I TURN THEM OFF WHEN THEY BADGER ME." USUALLY, HE SAID, HE LETS CARTER DISCUSS WHAT HE WANTS TO DISCUSS; IT OFTEN TURNS OUT TO BE WHAT YOUNG WANTED TO DISCUSS ANYWAY.

"I THINK BASICALLY HE'S GOT ENOUGH WORRYING HIM," HE SAID. "I THINK WHAT FRIENDS ARE FOR IS NOT TO BRING YOU PROBLEMS BUT TO HELP YOU DEAL WITH THEM." AND SO, HE INSISTS, HE IS COUNTING NOT ON HIS INFLUENCE WITH CARTER BUT ON HIS OWN SKILLS AS AN ADVOCATE AND TACTICIAN TO BE A SUCCESS IN HIS NEW JOB. "I FIGURE," HE SAID, "I'M A MATURE POLITICAL OPERATOR AND WHEN I TAKE ON A JOB, IT'S MY JOB AND I DON'T NEED TO GO CRY TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HELP."

THE NEW PRESIDENT HAS CALLED YOUNG "ONE OF THE BEST PERSONAL FRIENDS THAT I HAVE IN THE WORLD." IT'S HARD NOT TO WONDER ABOUT THE CHOICE OF WORDS. PERHAPS HE MEANT THERE WERE FEW PEOPLE HE ADMIRE OR TRUSTED AS MUCH. BUT THERE COULD NEVER
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HAVE BEEN MUCH SMALL TALK OR CASUAL TIME IN THEIR FRIENDSHIP. ONCE, WHEN THEY WERE JUST BECOMING ACQUAINTED, THEY PLAYED TENNIS, BUT THAT WAS LONG AGO. INVARIABLY NOW, THEY TALK POLITICS.

THEIR FIRST GLANCING CONTACT CAME AT A PARTY HELD IN AN ATLANTA SUBURB EARLY IN 1970 SO THAT CARTER, WHO WAS RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR FOR THE SECOND TIME, COULD MAKE HIMSELF KNOWN TO POTENTIAL SUPPORTERS. YOUNG, WHO HAD NOT YET TAKEN THE PLUNGE INTO PARTISAN POLITICS, REMEMBERS ONLY THAT THEY SHOOK HANDS. WHEN CARTER FINISHED SPEAKING, VERNON JORDAN, NOW OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, JUMPED UP TO DEMAND "EQUAL TIME," WHEREUPON HE ANNOUNCED HIS CANDIDACY IN THE PREDOMINANTLY WHITE FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN ATLANTA. THE JORDAN CANDIDACY NEVER MATERIALIZED, BUT A BLACK NARROWLY MISSED BEING ELECTED TO CONGRESS FROM THE DISTRICT THAT YEAR. HIS NAME WAS ANDREW YOUNG.

THE YOUNG CAMPAIGN RECEIVED SURPRISING SUPPORT IN THE FORM OF A CONTRIBUTION FROM A WHITE WOMAN IN HARDBITTEN SUMTER COUNTY-MRS. LILLIAN CARTER. BEFORE HE NEXT MET THE SON, YOUNG HAD TALKED TO THE MOTHER ABOUT HER EXPERIENCES IN THE PEACE CORPS IN INDIA. "SHE'S THE KIND OF WOMAN YOU FALL IN LOVE WITH," YOUNG SAYS.

PROBABLY BECAUSE OF THAT ENCOUNTER, HE WAS WATCHING CARTER A LITTLE MORE ATTENTIVELY THE NEXT TIME THEY MET. THE PLACE WAS PASCAL'S RESTAURANT, A RENDEZVOUS FOR BLACK POLITICIANS IN ATLANTA. CARTER WAS STANDING A GROUP TO BREAKFAST IN ORDER TO APPEAL FOR SUPPORT. WHAT STRUCK YOUNG WAS THE SURPRISING THOUGHTFULNESS AND EASE WITH WHICH THE CANDIDATE STOPPED BY THE KITCHEN AFTERWARD TO SHAKE HANDS WITH THE COOKS, WAITERS AND WAITRESSES. "I REALIZED THERE WAS SOMETHING REALLY GENUINE AND SOLID ABOUT THIS GUY," HE RECALLS, "BUT I WAS STILL SCARED TO VOTE FOR HIM. I HAD THE NOTION THAT NOTHING GOOD COME FROM SOUTH GEORGIA, ESPECIALLY PLAINS.

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IT WAS STILL HARD TO BELIEVE IN A SOUTHERN WHITE POLITICIAN." YOUNG VOTED FOR CARL SANDERS, THE INCUMBENT GOVERNOR, IN THE PRIMARY, BUT AFTER CARTER WON, HE HAD NO QUALMS ABOUT PINNING THE NOW-FAMILIAR PEANUT PIN TO HIS LAPEL.

IN HIS 1972 RUN FOR CONGRESS-WHICH MADE HIM THE FIRST BLACK CONGRESSMAN FROM GEORGIA SINCE RECONSTRUCTION-YOUNG GOT CON-

TRIBUTIONS NOT ONLY FROM CARTER'S MOTHER BUT ALSO HIS SON CHIP. NOW AND THEN HE WAS INVITED OVER TO THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION OR CONSULTED BY PHONE. IN CONVERSATION, YOUNG SAYS, HE PUT HIS VIEWS TO CARTER BLUNTLY AND WAS SURPRISED TO DISCOVER "HOW OFTEN HE WAS ABLE TO AGREE WITH ME." IN MIAMI THAT YEAR HE HAD EVEN MENTIONED CARTER TO GEORGE MCGOVERN AS A VICE-PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITY. THE SUGGESTION REALLY CAME FROM CARTER HIMSELF BUT YOUNG WAS WILLING TO PASS IT ALONG BECAUSE, AS HE EXPLAINS IT, "I REALLY THOUGHT HE DID REPRESENT THE NEW SOUTH."

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THAT WAS NOT A SUFFICIENT REASON TO SUPPORT CARTER FOR PRESIDENT, HOWEVER. IN FACT, YOUNG CONSIDERED HIMSELF PROMISED TO EDWARD KENNEDY. THEY HAD, AFTER ALL, THE SAME SENSE OF THEMSELVES AS SURVIVORS PLEDGED TO CARRY ON AN INTERRUPTED ENTERPRISE, THE SAME UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE COUNTRY HAD LOST WHEN THE FRIEND OF ONE AND BROTHER OF THE OTHER WERE GUNNED DOWN IN 1968. IN A SENSE, THIS FEELING OF YOUNG'S FOR THE KENNEDYS OPENED THE WAY TO HIS LATER COMMITMENT TO CARTER. HE SAYS HE HAD MADE IT A POINT TO KEEP HIS DISTANCE FROM ROBERT KENNEDY BECAUSE OF A FEELING THAT IT WAS "DANGEROUS TO LIKE PEOPLE IN POWER." BUT A MEETING WITH KENNEDY AT KING'S FUNERAL TOUCHED HIM DEEPLY. EVENTUALLY, HE MOURNED THE TWO MEN TOGETHER, "I WAS SO BUSY KEEPING THE MOVEMENT GOING AFTER MARTIN'S DEATH THAT I NEVER STOPPED TO FEEL IT TILL BOBBY DIED," HE SAID. "THEN IT ALL CAME DOWN."

THE CARTER CAMP COURTED YOUNG IN THE SHREWDEST POSSIBLE WAY, BY ASKING NOT FOR COMMITMENTS BUT ADVICE AND HELP. YOUNG WAS INVITED TO A STRATEGY SESSION AS EARLY AS 1974, BEFORE CARTER ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS RUNNING. A CARTER AIDE WHO WAS THERE REMEMBERED THINKING WHEN IT WAS YOUNG'S UNCLASSIFIED

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TURN TO SPEAK, "OH, OH, HERE IT COMES, THE PITCH FOR THE BLACKS.' BUT ANDY STARTED IN BY SAYING THAT AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE BANKING COMMITTEE, HE WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS. EVENTUALLY, HE GOT AROUND TO SAYING THAT A GOOD ECONOMY WAS GOOD FOR BLACKS, BUT IF YOU CLOSED YOUR EYES YOU COULD HAVE THOUGHT YOU WERE LISTENING TO AL ULLMANN (CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE)."

THAT SOUNDS DOUBLE-EDGED BUT YOUNG'S REFUSAL TO BE MERELY A SPOKESMAN FOR BLACKS COMES FROM THE SAME KIND OF SENSE OF HIMSELF AND HIS ROLE THAT LAY BEHIND KING'S REFUSAL TO CONFINED HIMSELF TO THE SUBJECT OF CIVIL RIGHTS. IT'S ALSO A REASON POLITICIANS CAN SPECULATE ON WHETHER, IF HE HAD BEEN PATIENT ENOUGH TO STAY IN CONGRESS, HE MIGHT HAVE BECOME THE FIRST BLACK SPEAKER OR A SENATOR FROM GEORGIA.

AS 1976 BEGAN, YOUNG WAS STILL KEEPING ONE FOOT IN THE CARTER CAMP AND ONE FOOT OUT, IN THE EXPECTATION AND-INITIALLY, AT LEAST-HOPE THAT A MORE CONVENTIONAL AND UNAMBISUOUS LIBERAL WOULD HEAD THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET. BUT AS HE ESTABLISHED HIMSELF IN CONGRESS AND DREW CLOSER TO THE CARTER CAMP, THE IDEA OF A SOUTHERNER FOR PRESIDENT BEGAN TO WORK ITS CHARM. BESIDES THE SOUTHERNER WAS SHOWING SOMETHING NONE OF THE LIBERALS HAD, AN APTITUDE FOR COALITION BUILDING; AN APTITUDE, THAT IS, FOR WINNING. EARLIER THAN HE HAD INTENDED-EVEN BEFORE CARTER WHIPPED GEORGE WALLACE IN FLORIDA-YOUNG RECOGNIZED THAT HE HAD ENLISTED FOR THE DURATION.

BY HIMSELF, HE DIDN'T SWING MANY BLACK VOTES TO CARTER. YOUNG NEITHER EXERCISES NOR CLAIMS THAT KIND OF SWAY. WHAT HE DID WAS ENABLE THE CANDIDATE TO WIN A HEARING IN BLACK COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY AT A TIME WHEN HIS FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS AND BLACK POLITICIANS GENERALLY VIEWED THE GEORGIAN WITH A MIXTURE OF SUSPICION AND HOSTILITY. IN THE WAY HE DID THIS, UNCLASSIFIED

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HE BOUND THE CARTER CAMPAIGN TO THE CIVIL-RIGHTS MOVEMENT

IN MORE THAN A SYMBOLIC SENSE.

THROUGHOUT THE 60'S, WHEN HE WAS NOT ORGANIZING DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE STREETS OR NEGOTIATING WITH WHITE SHERIFFS AND BUSINESSMEN, YOUNG DEVOTED MUCH OF HIS ENERGY TO TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE. THESE REARED UP THE LOCAL LEADERSHIP THAT CARRIED ON THE MOVEMENT'S WORK ACROSS THE SOUTH. MORE THAN 600 PERSONS PASSED THROUGH THE PROGRAM, AND YOUNG HAD ALL THEIR NAMES ON INDEX CARDS. LATER, THE PROGRAM HAD REACHED OUT TO THE SOUTH TO BLACK CLERGYMEN IN THE 20 LARGEST CITIES, AND YOUNG HAD ANOTHER 400 INDEX CARDS WITH THEIR NAMES. ONCE HE STARTED WORKING THIS NETWORK, CARTER WAS ASSURED OF A HEARING AND ORGANIZED BLACK SUPPORT IN ANY BLACK COMMUNITY HE ENTERED.

WHAT HAPPENED THEN WAS THE CANDIDATE'S DOING. YOUNG HIMSELF WAS NOT ESPECIALLY STIRRED BY CARTER'S EVANGELICAL CADENCES OR THE IDEA THAT HE WAS A RELIGIOUS PERSON. "WE NEVER TALKED RELIGION," HE TOLD ME. "IT'S SOMETHING YOU TAKE FOR GRANTED IN THE SOUTH. I KNEW HE WAS A SERIOUS LAYMAN AND THAT HE TAUGHT SUNDAY SCHOOL BUT THAT'S NOTHING TO GET VERY EXCITED OR UPSET ABOUT IN GEORGIA." STILL, CARTER'S SOUTHERN RELIGIOSITY WAS AN UNDENIABLE ASSET WHEN IT WAS PUT ON DISPLAY IN BLACK CHURCHES.

THE INTRODUCTION TO BLACK AMERICA WAS ONLY PART OF YOUNG'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MAKING OF A PRESIDENT. HE PLAYED JUST AS VITAL A ROLE IN GETTING THE CANDIDATE A HEARING FROM A CONSTITUENCY THAT WAS, FOR HIM, FUNDAMENTALLY MORE ALIEN AND DIFFICULT, THAT OF NORTHERN WHITE LIBERALS. BETTER THAN ANYONE ELSE NEAR CARTER, HE WAS ABLE TO SERVE AS A BRIDGE TO LIBERALS, BOTH ALLAYING THEIR MISGIVINGS WHEN THEY CALLED TO ASK, "IS HE FOR REAL?" AND INTERPRETING THOSE MISGIVINGS BACK TO THE CANDIDATE.

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IT WAS IN THE FLAP OVER CARTER'S "ETHNIC PURITY" STATEMENTS THAT YOUNG PROVED TO BE INDISPENSABLE IN SAVING CARTER FROM HIMSELF. THE INCIDENT, WHICH TESTED YOUNG'S INDEPENDENCE AS WELL AS HIS LOYALTY, MARKED THE REAL BEGINNING OF WHATEVER CLOSENESS CAN NOW BE SAID TO EXIST IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP. FOR A MAN OF VALUES, YOUNG IS REMARKABLY FREE OF RANCOR AND SLOW TO ANGER, A TEMPERAMENTAL CONDITION HE ATTRIBUTES, FACILELY PERHAPS, TO GUIDANCE FROM HIS FATHER, WHO WAS FOND OF THE ADAGE "DON'T GET MAD, GET SMART." THUS, HIS FIRST RESPONSE TO THE CARTER STATEMENT WAS MORE ANALYTIC THAN ANGRY. HIS INSTINCT WAS TO THINK THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN A SLIP BUT A CALCULATED SIGNAL TO WORKING-CLASS WHITES. HIS SECOND IMPULSE WAS TO HELP CARTER REPAIR THE DAMAGE.

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O R 061756Z FEB 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2315

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LAGOS AND DAR ES SALAAM PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR YOUNG

"I DIDN'T GET MANY BLACK COMPLAINTS," HE RECALLED. "BUT THERE WERE A LOT OF WHITE LIBERALS WHO WERE VERY CLOSE TO COMING AROUND AND THEY REALLY JUMPED ON ME, ESPECIALLY FROM THE JEWISH COMMUNITY." CALMLY AND OBJECTIVELY, YOUNG EXPLAINED TO CARTER THAT THE REMARKS SEEMED TO THESE LIBERALS A SIGN OF INSENSITIVITY. THE REMEDY, HE SAID, WAS TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING ON QUESTIONS SUCH AS URBAN POLICY AND UNEMPLOYMENT. AS POLITICAL ADVICE, THIS WAS SOUND, AND PROMPTLY TAKEN.

BUT WHAT'S INTERESTING HERE IS HOW MUCH BLUNTER YOUNG WAS IN HIS PUBLIC COMMENT THAN IN PRIVATE. CARTER'S STATEMENTS, HE TOLD THE NEW YORK TIMES, WERE "LOADED. . . WITH HITLERIAN CONNOTATIONS" AND "A DISASTER FOR THE CAMPAIGN." HE NOW EXPLAINS THIS COMMENT BY SAYING IT WAS A SIGNAL OF HIS OWN, TO HIS LIBERAL FRIENDS RATHER THAN THE CANDIDATE, A NECESSARY EFFORT TO MAINTAIN HIS OWN "CREDIBILITY." BUT OBVIOUSLY THERE WAS A MESSAGE FOR CARTER, TOO, THAT HE COULD TAKE NO PART OF HIS CONSTITUENCY FOR GRANTED, INCLUDING ANDY YOUNG.

THE INSIDER-OUTSIDER ROLE YOUNG FASHIONED LAST SPRING PERSISTED
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AT LEAST TO THE POINT AT WHICH HE ACCEPTED HIS NEW JOB. YOUNG WAS CONSTANTLY ACCESSIBLE TO CARTER AND HIS KEY AIDES BUT NEVER ATTEMPTED TO BECOME PART OF THE INNER CIRCLE. HIS STANDING WITH CARTER WAS OBVIOUSLY SO HIGH THAT SOME OF CARTER'S OWN AIDES REGULARLY TRIED TO REACH THEIR BOSS THROUGH YOUNG. BUT YOUNG KNEW THERE WERE OTHER INFLUENCES ON CARTER-HE'S NOT REGULARLY CONSULTED, FOR INSTANCES, BY CHARLES KIRBO-AND HE WAS DETERMINED TO PRESERVE HIS OWN INDEPENDENCE.

HIS TACT AND RELATIVE SELFLESSNESS WERE STRIKINGLY DEMONSTRATED AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN JULY. IN A PERIOD OF EUPHORIA, YOUNG WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE WEAKNESS OF CARTER'S APPEAL TO ETHNIC WHITE VOTERS, ESPECIALLY ITALIAN-AMERICANS, SO HE URGED THE CANDIDATE TO INCLUDE PETER RODINO ON HIS LIST OF VICE-PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES. WHEN RODINO MET CARTER, THE CONGRESSMAN CHIVALROUSLY TOOK HIMSELF OUT OF CONSIDERATION BUT ASKED THE BOON OF A CEREMONIAL PRIVILEGE, THAT OF PLACING CARTER'S NAME IN NOMINATION - AN HONOR THAT WAS TO HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR ANDREW YOUNG, WHO, CHARACTERISTICALLY, DID NOT PRESS HIS CLAIMS. (CARTER, IRONICALLY, MUFFED THE GESTURE BY SPEAKING OF EYE-TALIANS IN HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH.)

WHATEVER THEIR RELATIONSHIP WAS BEFORE THE CAMPAIGN, THE HISTORIC SYMBOLISM OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT FROM DIXIE SINCE THE CIVIL WAR OWING HIS ELECTION, IN A SENSE, TO HIS STATE'S FIRST BLACK CONGRESSMAN SINCE RECONSTRUCTION WOULD SEEM TO PUT IT IN A SPECIAL CATEGORY FOR THE FUTURE. BUT THE ATTRACTION IS NOT JUST SYMBOLIC AND NOT JUST ONE-WAY.

IN SPEAKING OF HIS OWN LIFE NOWADAYS, YOUNG IS APT TO POINT OUT PARALLELS TO CARTER'S. IN PLAIN JARGON, HE IDENTIFIES WITH THE PRESIDENT. HE POINTS OUT THAT THE CARTERS HAVE HAD THREE SONS AND THEN, AFTER A LONG GAP, A DAUGHTER; YOUNG AND HIS WIFE, JEAN, HAVE HAD THREE DAUGHTERS AND THEN,

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AFTER A LONG GAP, A SON. CARTER GREW UP WITH MOSTLY BLACK PLAYMATES IN A HAMLET WHOSE MOST EMINENT CITIZEN HAPPENED TO BE A BLACK BISHOP OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH. YOUNG, WHO WAS BORN IN NEW ORLEANS ON MARCH 12, 1932, GREW UP WITH MOSTLY WHITE PLAYMATES, FEW OF WHOSE PARENTS WERE AS RESPECTED OR WELL-OFF AS HIS OWN FATHER, A DENTIST.

HIS CHILDHOOD MAY HAVE BEEN A SHADE MORE COMFORTABLE THAN CARTER'S. IN FACT, HIS FATHER'S FATHER, WHOM YOUNG DESCRIBES AS A "BAYOU ENTREPRENEUR," HAD BEEN PROSPEROUS,

TOO. A BACKGROUND OF ECONOMIC SECURITY WAS NOT UNCOMMON AMONG LEADERS OF WHAT WAS ONCE CALLED "THE NEGRO REVOLUTION" WHO REBELLED NOT ONLY AGAINST WHITE OPPRESSION BUT ALSO AGAINST THE ACCOMMODATION THEIR ELDERS HAD MADE WITH IT. YOUNG SPEAKS WITH GENTLE EXASPERATION OF HIS SHELTERED YOUTH IN A "BLACK BOURGEOIS" ENVIRONMENT.

"IN ALL MY GROWING UP, THROUGH COLLEGE," HE SAID, "NOBODY EVER SAID TO ME, 'YOU'VE GOT A RESPONSIBILITY TO DO SOMETHING FOR SOMEBODY ELSE.'" COLLEGE WAS HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WHERE HE WAS ACTIVE IN FRATERNITY LIFE AND NOT ESPECIALLY BOWED DOWN BY STUDIES. THE ASSUMPTION THAT HE WOULD ALSO BE A DENTIST SURVIVED UNCHALLENGED TILL HIS GRADUATION, AT THE AGE OF ONLY 19, WHEN THE PLACID SURFACE OF HIS LIFE WAS SUDDENLY RUFFLED BY SOME TROUBLING THOUGHTS.

IN YOUNG'S RECOUNTING, THE KEY INCIDENTS WERE A TASTELESSLY LAVISH FRATERNITY DANCE THAT SET HIM WONDERING ABOUT THE VALUES HE HAD GROWN UP WITH, AND A CHANCE ENCOUNTER WITH A YOUNG WHITE GRADUATE OF THE YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL WHO WAS GOING OFF AS A MISSIONARY TO RHODESIA. "I DON'T KNOW IF WE EVEN HAD A LONG CONVERSATION," HE SAID, "BUT THE FACT WAS HE WAS DOING SOMETHING FOR SOMEONE ELSE WITH HIS LIFE AND I WASN'T. IT WAS A JUDGMENT ON ME. IF YOU WANT TO PUT IN IN SOUTHERN LANGUAGE, WHICH I DIDN'T AT THE TIME, IT WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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AROUND THAT EXPERIENCE THAT I WAS 'BORN AGAIN.'"

ANYONE PUZZLED BY THE ATTRACTION THE U.N. HOLDS FOR YOUNG COULD START RIGHT THERE AND TRACE A LEITMOTIF OF INTERNATIONALISM, OFTEN INVOLVING SOUTHERN AFRICA, THROUGH HIS ENTIRE CAREER. THE ENCOUNTER WITH THE MISSIONARY LED DIRECTLY TO A DECISION TO BECOME A MINISTER HIMSELF. AT THE HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, HE READ NEHRU ON GANDHI ON NONVIOLENCE. THERE WAS A SUMMER WORKING AT A REFUGEE CAMP IN AUSTRIA, FOLLOWED BY A DECISION TO BECOME A MISSIONARY AT A UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST OUTPOST IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA. THAT PLAN WAS FRUSTRATED, YOUNG SAYS, BY A BAN BY THE PORTUGUESE AUTHORITIES ON BLACK AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.

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O R 061756Z FEB 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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LAGOS AND DAR ES SALAAM PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR YOUNG

LATER, WHEN HE WORKED FOR THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND LIVED IN QUEENS, HE LED YOUTH GROUPS TO THE U.N. AND CAPITOL HILL, WHERE THEY LOBBIED FOR FOREIGN AID. STILL LATER, HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' COMMITTEE ON RACISM, WHICH GAVE MONEY FOR NONMILITARY PURPOSES, SUCH AS HOSPITALS, TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HIS FIRST ACT AS A CONGRESSMAN WAS LEGISLATION TO BAN THE TRANSFER OF NATO EQUIPMENT TO PORTUGUESE FORCES IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE. RECENTLY, SINCE HIS FIRST VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA IN 1974, YOUNG HAS HAD LIVING IN HIS ATLANTA HOME A SON AND DAUGHTER OF ROBERT SOBUKWE, THE LEADER OF THE OUTLAWED PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS WHO HAS BEEN IN VARIOUS FORMS OF DETENTION AND CONFINEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR 17 YEARS. ALTHOUGH IT WOULD MEAN LITTLE TO MOST AMERICANS, THE IDEA THAT THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N. HAS SUCH A CLOSE PERSONAL TIE TO SOBUKWE- A SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE TO WHITE RULE-CAN FAIRLY BE DESCRIBED AS STUNNING IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT. IF JOSEPH CONRAD WAS RIGHT WHEN HE DEFINED A DIPLOMATIC STATEMENT AS "A STATEMENT OF WHICH EVERYTHING IS TRUE BUT THE SENTIMENT WHICH SEEMS TO PROMPT IT," THEN, PLAINLY, THE UNITED STATES CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK DIPLOMATICALLY ON SOUTH AFRICA AT THE U.N. SO LONG AS YOUNG IS THERE.

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NO ONE WHO KNOWS HIM, HOWEVER, WOULD QUESTION HIS DIPLOMATIC SKILLS. IN EFFECT, HE WAS DR. KING'S SECRETARY OF STATE - A MEDIATOR WHO SMOOTHED RIVALRIES AMONG KING'S LIEUTENANTS WHENEVER THEIR COMPETITION FOR THE LIMELIGHT AND THE POSITION NEAREST THE LEADER GOT OUT OF HAND; WHO DEALT WITH LOCAL BLACK PREACHERS IN TOWNS IN WHICH KING WAS WORKING TO ALLAY JEALOUS FEELINGS AND WIN THEIR SUPPORT; AND WHO, FINALLY, WHEN THE DEMONSTRATIONS BROUGHT SUBMERGED RACIAL TENSIONS TO A BOIL,

OPENED NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE WHITE ESTABLISHMENT.

BASIC TO YOUNG IS THE BELIEF, DERIVED FROM THOSE EXPERIENCES, THAT HE CAN FIND COMMON GROUND IN ALMOST ANY CONFLICT, WITH ALMOST ANY ADVERSARY. THAT IS WHY THIS ACTIVIST CAN COME ON SO MODERATELY AND WHY HE GOT ON SO WELL IN CONGRESS, WHERE HE MADE IT TO THE POWERFUL RULES COMMITTEE IN ONLY TWO YEARS. YOUNG'S BRIEF CONGRESSIONAL CAREER OFFERS A PREVIEW OF HOW HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO OPERATE AT THE U.N. FIERY SPEECHES AND MILITANT GESTURES ARE NOT PART OF HIS REPERTORY. HE WAS THE ONE BLACK CONGRESSMAN TO VOTE FOR GERALD FORD'S CONFIRMATION AS VICE PRESIDENT AND THE ONLY ONE TO ENDORSE FORD'S PARDON OF RICHARD NIXON. AT THE U.N., HE HAS SAID, HE WILL HAVE NO DIFFICULTY VOTING AGAINST BOMBASTIC RESOLUTIONS OR CASTING THE AMERICAN VETO TO KEEP SOUTH AFRICA IN THE ORGANIZATION. THAT, YOU MIGHT SAY, IS THE MODERATE IN HIM. BUT HIS CONSTANT OBJECTIVE, HE PROMISES, WILL BE TO FIND COMMON GROUND WITH THIRD-WORLD NATIONS-THE AFRICANS ESPECIALLY-AND TO PRESS FOR CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THAT IS THE ACITVIST.

SURPRISINGLY, IN YOUNG'S VISION, THE CATALYST THAT BRINGS ABOUT CHANGE TURNS OUT TO BE THAT TROUBLESOME AND MALIGNED BEHEMOTH, THE AMERICAN MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION. THINKING ALOUD ONE AFTERNOON, YOUNG WONDERED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT URGED AMERICAN CORPORATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO ACT ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THEY HAD FIVE YEARS TO TURN THEIR MANAGEMENT OVER TO BLACKS. HUNDREDS OF BLACKS WOULD THEN HAVE TO BE UNCLASSIFIED

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BROUGHT TO THE UNITED STATES FOR MANAGEMENT TRAINING, HE SAID, IMAGINING HOW THE THIN EDGE OF THIS WEDGE MIGHT FIT INTO THE LOCKED DOOR OF APARTHEID. SUCH A SCHEME MIGHT PROVE TO BE ILLEGAL UNDER SOUTH AFRICAN LAW, I POINTED OUT. "I KNOW," YOUNG ANSWERED, SMILING, "BUT NOTING IS ILLEGAL IF 100 BUSINESSMEN DECIDE TO DO IT, AND THAT'S TRUE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD."

YOUNG REGULARLY SUMMONS "100 BUSINESSMEN" INTO HIS CONVERSATION IN THIS WAY, WHENEVER HE WANTS TO TALK ABOUT MORAL SUASION AS A PRACTICAL EXERCISE. THEY ARE A KIND OF COLLECTIVE STOCK CHARACTER BUT NOT ENTIRELY OF HIS OWN IMAGINING. IN 1963, IN BIRMINGHAM, ALA., THE REV. ANDREW YOUNG NEGOTIATED WITH 100 OR SO WHITE BUSINESSMEN TO BRING ABOUT THE DISMANTLING OF THE SEGREGATION LAWS. ATLANTA WAS AN EVEN BETTER EXAMPLE OF REFORMIST OLIGARCHY. IF ATLANTA BECAME A CITY "TOO BUSY TO HATE," YOUNG SEEMS TO BE SAYING THEN WHY NOT JOHANNESBURG?

"MY NOTION IS," HE SAID, "THAT IF REVOLUTION IS THE TRANSFER OF GOODS, SERVICES AND OPPORTUNITIES, THEN CAPITALISM HAS PRO-

DUCED A LOT MORE IN THE WAY OF REVOLUTION THAN COMMUNISM."
WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, HE ARGUED, THE MULTINATIONALS INVOLVE
THE UNITED STATES IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. THAT
BEING SO, HE CONTINUED, "WHY NOT INCORPORATE A SENSE OF
POLITICAL DIRECTION WITH THE PROFIT MOTIVE?"

THERE ARE LOTS OF OBJECTIONS THAT MIGHT BE RAISED. FOR
INSTANCE, ISN'T THAT WHAT THE C.I.A. AND I.T.T. WERE
DOING WHEN THEY COOPERATED ON THE "DESTABILIZATION" OF ALLENDE IN
CHILE? YOUNG REPLIES WITH GANDHI: HE'S TALKING ABOUT "NON-
COOPERATION WITH EVIL," NOT ABOUT COVERT OPERATIONS. IN
A SPEECH IN BOSTON THREE DAYS BEFORE HIS APPOINTMENT,
HE DECLARED: "THE POLITICS OF NONCOOPERATION CAN BE CONDUCTED
OPENLY AND MORALLY."

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THAT SAME EVENING, I HEARD YOUNG SPEAK ABOUT AMERICAN CORPORATE
POWER AS A POTENTIAL FORCE FOR GOOD IN THE WORLD TO A GATHERING
IN A paneled dining room at the Parker House. The man sitting
next to me shook his head and commented sardonically,
"HE SHOULD BE WORKING FOR I.B.M."

THE NEXT EVENING, YOUNG WAS IN ANOTHER paneled room, this one
in an elegant Manhattan apartmtne where he had been invited
to dine with Harry Oppenheimer, the major figure in the South
African diamond and goldmining industries. In a quiet,
almost donnish manner, Oppenheimer tactfully colicted Young's
thoughts on the future of his country. Twice the great
magnate quoted lines from "Murder in the Cathedral" about "
the greatest treason" being "to do the right deed for the wrong
reason." His point seemed to be that the removal of one form
of oppression shouldn't make way for another.

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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LAGOS AND DAR ES SALAAM PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR YOUNG

LATER, I HAPPENED TO NOTICE THAT DR. KING HAD QUOTED PRECISELY THE SAME LINES, IN ANOTHER CONTEXT, IN HIS "LETTER FROM A FIRMINGHAM JAIL." AN ODD AND DONNISH THOUGHT OCCURS: WAS THE SOUTH AFRICAN ALLUDING TO KING? IF SO, I DOUBT THAT THE QUOTATION GRABBED YOUNG'S ATTENTION. ABSTRACT DISCUSSIONS ARE NOT HIS STYLE. "I'M AN ADMITTED, CONFESSED, DELIBERATE REFORMER," HE REMARKED. "PEOPLE HAVE BEEN THINKING PHILOSOPHICALLY ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA FOR YEARS. I REFUSE TO THINK ABOUT IT PHILOSOPHICALLY. I WANT TO THINK ABOUT IT TACTICALLY." IT SEEMED A PERFECT DESCRIPTION OF THE WAY HIS MIND WORKS. BUT IS THE U.N. THE PLACE FOR AN ACTIVIST?

"IN THINK THE MOST FRUSTRATING THING IN THE WORLD," A FRIEND OF YOUNG'S COMMENTED, "WOULD BE TO SEE THIS GREAT AND GOOD MAN WALKING THROUGH THE CORRIDORS OF THE U.N., HAILED BY EVERYBODY, BELOVED BY EVERYBODY, BUT HAVING ABSOLUTLY NO IMPACT AT ALL."

IN OTHER WORDS, YOUNG COULD BE A TERRIFIC HIT AT THE U.N. AND A FAILURE IN TERMS OF THE GOALS HE HAS SET FOR HIMSELF. A CARTER ADVISER I RAN INTO HAD NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT YOUNG'S LIKELY IMPACT ON POLICY. HE MENTIONED ONLY THE CAREER ADVANTAGES
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FOR YOUNG. "THE JOB GIVES HIM A CLEAR SHOT AT BECOMING THE NEXT SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE NEXT VICE PRESIDENT," HE SAID.

BUT YOUNG'S AMBITIONS SEEM FASTENED ON HIS JOB, NOT BEYOND. WHAT HE WANTS IS IMPACT, AFTER ALL. TESTING HIS EXPECTATIONS, I ASKED WHETHER HE REALLY THOUGHT HE WOULD SEE A TIMETABLE IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR MAJORITY RULE BY THE TIME THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION LEAVES OFFICE. HE SAID HE EXPECTED TO SEE IT SOONER, WITHIN FOUR YEARS OF 18 MONTHS. I FOUND HIS CONFIDENCE A LITTLE BREATHTAKING AND SAID SOMETHING ABOUT THAT BEING AN AMBITIOUS UNDERTAKING. YOUNG STUDIED THE VIEW OF ATLANTA THROUGH HIS OFFICE WINDOW FOR A MOMENT AND SAID NOTHING. THE THOUGHT CROSSED MY MIND THAT HE MIGHT BE THINKING ABOUT OTHER AMBITIOUS UNDERTAKINGS, THE KIND THAT TRANSFORMED ATLANTA. BUT I REALLY DON'T KNOW WHAT HE WAS THINKING, ONLY WHAT HE FINALLY SAID.

"IT'S NOT THAT AMBITIOUS," HE REPLIED.

3. SIDE BAR ARTICLE FOLLOWS:

IN BLACK POLITICAL CIRCLES, THERE WAS A SENSE OF LETDOWN WHEN IT BECAME EVIDENT THAT THE OVERWHELMING BLACK VOTE FOR JIMMY CARTER WAS NOT TO BE REPAID WITH NUMEROUS BLACK APPOINTMENTS TO TOP-LEVEL ADMINISTRATION JOBS. AS THE BLACK WHO EXERCISES THE GREATEST LEVERAGE WITH THE NEW PRESIDENT, ANDREW YOUNG MIGHT HAVE COME IN FOR SHARP CRITICISM. BUT IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, THE TENDENCY WAS SIMPLY TO SAY THAT TOUGH BEHIND-THE-SCENES BARGAINING WAS NEITHER HIS FORTE NOR HIS STYLE.

"I'M NOT A RELIGIOUS MAN AND MAYBE THAT'S WHY I DON'T UNDERSTAND," MUSED JULIAN BOND, WHO WENT ON TO SAY THAT POLITICIANS USUALLY DEVELOP QUID PRO QUO RELATIONSHIPS WITH ONE ANOTHER BUT THAT WAS NOT YOUNG'S WAY.

YOUNG FREELY ADMITS AS MUCH. ALTHOUGH HE WAS REGULARLY IN TOUCH
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WITH CARTER AIDES HAMILTON JORDAN AND JACK WATSON AND TALKED FREQUENTLY ON THE PHONE WITH CARTER HIMSELF, THE CALLS WERE RARELY INITIATED BY YOUNG, AND IT WAS A FULL MONTH AFTER THE ELECTIONS BEFORE HE SAT DOWN WITH THE PRESIDENT-ELECT FOR A FACE-TO-FACE DISCUSSION OF CABINET APPOINTMENTS.

YOUNG HAD DROPPED A NUMBER OF NAMES IN PUBLIC OF BLACKS WHO WERE QUALIFIED FOR FRONT-LINE CABINET JOBS, BUT HE WAS AT LEAST AS INTERESTED, YOUNG KEPT SAYING, IN WHO THE WHITES IN THE CABINET WOULD BE AS HE WAS IN THE CHOICE OF THE BLACKS. IT WAS THE "SUBSTANCE" OF POLICY THAT MATTERED HE WOULD SAY, NOT THE "SYMBOLISM" OF COLOR.

YOUNG WAS CONSULTED ABOUT THE CHOICE OF WHITES, BUT THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT HE WAS GIVEN ANY REAL OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE THE CHOICE OF ATTORNEY GENERAL. AT THE TIME HIS OWN APPOINTMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS WAS ANNOUNCED, HE STILL DID NOT KNOW THAT THE JOB HAD BEEN RESERVED FOR CARTER'S FRIEND, GRIFFIN BELL. FIVE DAYS LATER, WHEN BELL WAS NAMED, YOUNG WAS CLEARLY DISAPPOINTED. BUT HE DID NOT FEEL EMBITTERED OR USED. HE KNEW BELL-THEY HAD OFFICES ON THE SAME FLOOR OF A FEDERAL BUILDING IN ATLANTA WHEN BELL WAS A JUDGE -AND KNEW THAT BELL HAD WIDER CONTACTS AMONG BLACKS THAN NORTHERN WHITES WERE LIKELY TO ASSUME. THE N.A.A.C.P. ASSAILED BELL FOR HIS ROLE IN MEDIATING A BUSING CONTROVERSY IN ATLANTA, BUT YOUNG HAD APPROVED OF THE COMPROMISE BELL ARRANGED.

IN DEFENDING THE BELL NOMINATION, YOUNG WENT SO FAR AS TO SAY HE PREFERRED A SOUTHERNER WHO HAD STRUGGLED WITH THE PROBLEM OF RACE TO "A NORTHERN INTELLECTUAL LIBERAL." I ASKED YOUNG'S AIDE, STONEY COOKS, ABOUT THE UNCHARACTERISTIC SHARPNESS OF THIS ASIDE. HE EXPLAINED IT BY SAYING THE WHITE LIBERALS IN THE CABINET WERE SIMPLY APPOINTING OTHER WHITE LIBERALS TO KEY JOBS IN THEIR DEPARTMENTS, WHILE SOUTHERNERS

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WERE MAKING A GENUINE EFFORT TO APPOINT BLACKS AND MEMBERS OF OTHER MINORITY GROUPS.

"LIBERALS WANT TO DO IT FOR YOU," COOKS SAID. "SOUTHERNERS WANT TO DO IT WITH YOU."-J.L. BENNETT

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
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Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
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Copy: SINGLE
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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Comment:
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Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770042-0799
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From: USUN NEW YORK
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Office: ACTION IO
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
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Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3396281
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE ARTICLE ON AMB. YOUNG
TAGS: OVIP
To: DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/48e10fcb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009